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101 The lack of a name for the island as a whole "was quite in accord with the
103 islander's habit of mind to speckle his home with names changing every few feet and to leave the major divisions nameless" (51, p. 4).

EUROPEAN CONTACTS

175 With no sheltered harbors along its coast and with winds which suddenly
[133] shift direction, Easter Island does not afford safe anchorage for any vessel, least of all for sailing ships. This unfavorable geographical feature combined with isolation, lack of resources, and the suspicious attitude of the natives is partly responsible for the enigmas presented by the island's culture. The early discoverers and seafarers were little inclined to stay long on an island considered dangerous for ships and men; information about the native culture was obtained hurriedly and is generally superficial or incomplete, notwithstanding the talent of observers like Cook, the two Forsters, La Pérouse, or Beechey and the enormous interest they took in the strange monuments they saw scattered everywhere. When the missionaries settled on the island, in the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, the old life had already disappeared.

175 The mysterious land, "500 leagues from Copiapo," sighted in 1687 by the
609 buccaneer, Edward Davis, was probably not Easter Island but Mangareva. In his quest for the hypothetical land of Davis, Roggeveen came upon Easter Island on the fifth of April, 1722. The following day a native went on board the flagship, where he made a very favorable impression. He was cheerful, "lively in mien, as well as pleasing in speech and gesture" (18, vol. 1, p. 123). His behavior was observed with much curiosity (186, p. 8). And as the musicians played their instruments for him, "he began at once to caper and dance about" (18, vol. 1, p. 124). He was sent ashore with various small gifts.

Later a great many natives boarded the ships and showed (186, p. 11) "at that time their great cupidity for everything they saw; and were so daring that they took the seamen's hats and caps from off their heads, and sprang overboard with the spoil." Further attempts to pilfer were made when Roggeveen and a party of 137 men landed. The resulting confusion and the threatening appearance of the islanders, who picked up stones, frightened some of the crew, who fired a volley. Ten or twelve natives were killed and the others ran away. But, as no more harm was done them, the fugitives returned with friendly gestures and with no apparent resentment. They were ordered by a chief to bring to the foreigners presents of sugar cane, bananas, fowls, and yams. If Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 128) is to be relied upon, they even bowed and knelt before the Dutchmen and brought them standards like those they presented to their *ariki*. Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 134) says that the women proposed themselves quite openly and were offered to the sailors by

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the men. Roggeveen, however, states that only two or three old women were seen.

From scant information given in Roggeveen's log (186) it is apparent that the ships anchored on the north coast, probably at La Pérouse. Fearing for the security of his vessels when a northerly wind blew up and convinced that Easter Island was not the land of Davis, Roggeveen made no attempt at a more thorough exploration of the island and sailed forth on the tenth of April.

The experiences of all later visitors in their dealings with natives were very much the same as that of Roggeveen at this first contact. Despite the nearly complete change of their culture, the natives of today react no differently to the arrival of a foreign ship. They evince the same curiosity, they are gripped by the same excitement, and the same noisy crowd awaits the landing boats. The women are no less generous with their persons, and the men no less prone to petty thievery if opportunity comes their way.

The main sources for the events which accompanied the discovery of Easter Island are Roggeveen's log book (186) and the narrative of Carl Friederich Behrens (18). Roggeveen's account is precise and accurate in details; Behrens' famous description of Easter Island is one of the most fanciful and misleading documents we have.

In a new effort to reach the land of Davis, a Spanish expedition, under the command of Felipe Gonzalez y Haedo, rediscovered Easter Island in 1770. The two Spanish ships were anchored outside the cove of La Pérouse (Hanga-o-honu), but disembarkation was made on the beach of Ovahe. In order to chart the island which Gonzalez believed he was the first to discover, a boat was sent around the island which returned the following day after having stopped for the night near Vinapu on the south coast. A party was then landed to reconnoiter the interior and distract the natives, while another group ascended the slope of Poike with three crosses to be planted on the tops of the three parasitic cones on the side of Puakatiki, thus solemnly taking possession of the island in the name of Spain. Natives, invited to sign the act of possession, made marks on the lower part of the document and by so doing became Spanish subjects. Relations with the natives were cordial. The crews had been given strict orders not to molest them, and exchanges went on quite satisfactorily, although the Spaniards noticed the thievery of the natives and were bothered by their begging. The women invited the visitors to have sexual intercourse with them, and the island men were often the intermediaries in these affairs. The Spaniards seem to have disembarked infrequently, and the exploration of the interior of the island was neglected. The Spanish ships left after six days.

Captain Cook visited Easter Island during his second voyage to the South Seas (1772-1775). He stopped for three days in the bay of Hanga-roa, now

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175 Cooks Bay, which thereafter became the usual anchorage. Cook himself went ashore for a short while and saw only the beach of Hanga-roa and the ahu nearby, but George Forster and some others made an excursion toward the heights now occupied by the village of Hanga-roa. The second day a party reconnoitered the interior of the island. They followed the slopes of Rano-kao, passed by Orito, and reached the south coast near Vinapu. There they walked along the shore beyond Ovahe, presumably not far from Akahanga Bay, for they saw the first isolated statues standing nearby. Halfway between Ovahe and Akahanga some members of the expedition must have ascended one of the hills of the interior, as they distinctly perceived the north coast. On the way back J. R. Forster, who had joined the party, climbed the crater of Punapau and saw the quarry with the big, red tufa hats scattered about.

175 609 During the three days, the natives were friendly and willing to trade the products of their land for small articles, Tahitian tapa, and coconut shells. Sly thievery was manifested on every occasion; one native was wounded by a shot when he tried to steal a bag from an English officer. The women gave themselves to the seamen without restraint and for the most trifling gifts.

175 Disappointed by the meager resources of the land and anxious about the weather, Cook sailed with an incomplete knowledge of the island. The accounts of Cook (53) and the two Forsters (83, 84) emphasize the barrenness of the island, the small number of inhabitants, and their poverty in contrast with the size of the statues and the impressiveness of the other monuments. Thus began the mystery of Easter Island. Cook's landing may have coincided with a destructive war which went against the people of the Tuu district, decimating the population of the south and west coasts.

175 609 La Pérouse, leading a French expedition, landed at Hanga-roa in 1786. His time ashore was devoted to observing native behavior and looking at the monuments. Taking advantage of the moderation and patience he had imposed on his crew, the natives committed the most daring thefts, taking away the hats of the visitors and picking their pockets. The women collaborated in this general pilfering or "offered their favors to those who were willing to give them presents" (130). Some native men, as had been observed by Gonzalez' officers, acted as go-betweens in the hope of reward and even obliged young girls to prostitute themselves. A few natives who seemed to have some authority over the others pretended to stop the thieving, but they never caught the culprits and were discovered to be no more scrupulous than the others. At the end of the day a little fight with the natives took place as the consequence of stealing a grapnel, but nobody was killed. La Pérouse was especially shocked by the apparent hypocrisy of the natives. He complains (130, vol. 1, p. 75) that "the Indian who had just received a present, and

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appeared the most eager to render us a thousand services, was, in reality, ever the most to be suspected."

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Following Cook's example, La Pérouse sent an expedition to explore the interior of the island. This party, led by M. de Langle, covered almost the same route as that of the English, and very few new data were recorded. The reconnaissance of the south coast was not carried farther than Ovahe. On the way back the party ascended the Rano-kao, and one of the members even descended into the crater, where he examined the lake and the fringe of vegetation around its edge.

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The visit of La Pérouse marks the first attempt of white men to modify native culture by introducing new plants and domestic animals. The gardener of the expedition planted in appropriate soil cabbages, carrots, beets, corn, gourds, oranges, lemons, and cotton (130, vol. 1, p. 90). A couple of goats, sheep, and pigs were presented to the natives. The islanders seem to have received no particular benefit from these gifts, and none of the animals or plants is mentioned by subsequent voyagers. Sixty years later, the same food sources were reintroduced by the missionaries. Brown (*27*, p. 64) claims to have heard a tradition which alluded to the pigs left by the French navigator. They were supposedly kept in a hole, fed on bananas and sweet potatoes, and finally eaten together with their litter. I found no evidence that the pigs referred to in the tradition were the hog and sow given by La Pérouse. They were designated to me as animals put on the island by a boat of more recent times.

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The La Pérouse Expedition made an invaluable contribution to the ethnography of Easter Island. A geographical engineer, M. Bernizet, described the houses and the monuments of the natives with the greatest technical accuracy, and an artist represented them with exactness and ability.

In 1804 the Russian boat *Neva*, under Urey Lisiansky, sailed around the island for four days but made no attempt to land (143, pp. 51-60).

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Shortly after the visit of the *Neva*, the captain of the American schooner *Nancy* kidnapped 12 men and 10 women after a bloody combat with the natives. The victims were to have been taken to the island of Massafuero, where a colony was to be established for seal hunting. When the boat was three days off Easter Island, the prisoners were allowed on deck. The men immediately jumped overboard and swam in the direction of their home. Efforts of the captain to rescue them were vain. This same captain made several raids on the island to recruit seamen for the same project. These attacks changed the friendly attitude of the natives toward foreigners to distrust and hostility. For this reason, when Alexander Adams, captain of the Hawaiian brig the *Kahu-manu* (1806) and Captain Winship of the *Albatross* (1809) arrived at the island they were unable to land (127, vol. 1, pp. 142-144).

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175 In 1808 Captain Delano (5, pp. 355-358) skirted the north and the west coasts but could not go ashore because of the heavy surf in the bay of Hanga-roa.

175 609 In 1816, a Russian expedition under the leadership of Otto von Kotzebue landed at the island and was surprised at the distrust of the natives. However, the islanders were eager to trade the products of their land for scraps of iron. In commercial transactions they manifested their customary cleverness in stealing and cheating. When the rowboats approached the shore the natives "ran about rejoiced, and shouted; signs of peace, threatening, stone throwing and shots, testimonies of friendship were exchanged" (127, vol. 3, p. 225). The first attempt to land was repelled by force "amidst laughing and joking," but a second attempt, supported by musket shots, succeeded. The Russians were immediately surrounded by a big crowd of men with painted faces who "danced with the most ridiculous motions and contortions of the body" and made a terrible noise. Stones were thrown and blank volleys were fired. The natives dispersed and fled behind rocks. Noticing that no harm was done, they poked fun at the intruders and became more and more aggressive. Kotzebue had to order his men to retire, and a few hours later left the island. This hasty departure prevented him and the German scientist, Adalbert von Chamisso, from making observations. The only scientific results of this visit were the inaccurate drawings of Choris. (See Kotzebue, 127, vol. 1, pp. 137-141; vol. 3, pp. 225-226; and Choris, 49, pp. 10-12.)

Beechey's experiences (15, vol. 1, pp. 40-61) with the Easter Islanders in 1825 were similar to those of Kotzebue. At first the natives were friendly and excited, swarming to meet the boat at Hanga-roa. "Bananas, yams, potatoes, sugar-cane, nets, idols were offered for sale, and some were even thrown into the boat, leaving their visitors to make what return they chose." Among the swimmers women were numerous and they "were equally or more anxious to get into the boats than the men, and made use of every persuasion to induce the crew to admit them." The crowd surrounding the boats stole every article they saw and "the women were no less active in these piracies than the men, for if they were not the actual plunderers, they procured the opportunity for others, by engrossing the attention of the seamen by their caresses and ludicrous gestures" (15, vol. 1, p. 44). When the Englishmen had disembarked, the pilfering continued amid terrible confusion and renewed excitement. The natives then turned to real plundering, and the visitors decided to retreat to their boat. This was the signal for a general assault, and showers of stones were thrown at the troup hurrying to reembark. A discharge was made on the natives, and one of them, perhaps a chief, was killed. Beechey left the island that day. No new knowledge was gained by

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his visit, but he gave a good description of the north coast, especially of the bay of Hangoteo.

In 1822 the skipper of an American whaling ship paused at Easter Island long enough to kidnap a group of girls who were thrown overboard the following day and obliged to swim back to the island when they left the ship. One of the officers, simply for amusement, shot a native with his gun (162, vol. 2, p. 279).

At a session of the Royal Geographical Society (172, vol. 14, p. 117) Mr. P. P. Blyth reported that he visited Easter Island in 1826.

Moerenhout (162, vol. 1, pp. 23-28) passed Easter Island on one of his voyages from South America to Tahiti. A native boarded the ship and invited the sailors to go ashore, alluding to the charms of the women. Moerenhout was told by other captains that the Easter Islanders made "shameful commerce" of their women and that venereal diseases were common among them. This statement indicates that the natives had already had more contact with white men, probably with whalers, than might be deduced from recorded visits.

A manuscript letter written by H. Cuming to Dr. Hooker (dated London, March 21, 1832) reveals that in 1831 the island was visited by the schooner *Discoverer*. Since the document is still unpublished it is of interest to reproduce the passage concerning Easter Island:

> On the 28th arrived at Easter Island and lay to all the day. Number of the natives came on board; were a lively good natured race, rather inclined to take anything portable but free to give for the merest trifle. Supplied us with Plantains, Yams, Sweet Potatoes and a Root called Cocos in the West Indies. Could not procure any botanical specimens from fear of the numerous inhabitants who lined the shore. Could not discover anything larger than the Plantain and that was not high. The sides of the hills were extremely well cultivated, laid out in squares and in great number together. [311]

Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, pp. 222-234) sailed along the coast of Easter Island (1838). Several native men and women, who swam to the ship, performed a dance on board. They tried to steal, and some suggested that the crew go ashore where they would find an abundance of food and women.

The visit of the English frigate *Portland* (1852) is known only by the brief allusion of Palmer (171, p. 169) in his address to the Royal Geographical Society in which he mentions some ethnographical observations made by the officers of the ship.

In 1856, The Friend, a journal published in Honolulu, printed a letter from James Hamilton, master of the bark *Prudence*, who lost one man in a fight with the Easter Islanders. He made an attempt to trade with the natives, but they capsized the boat which went ashore, and tried to take the clothes of the crew. The second officer was killed and the boat steersman taken Ashore but rescued the second day.

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175 [177] ashore but rescued the second day. James Hamilton observed that the Easter Islanders had boats of the European type. "I do not think," he remarks, "they came honestly by them, if so I think the master who gave them knowing their character for treachery, is highly culpable for I think a ship would not be safe off here, and I think there are strong reasons for that opinion from the value they appeared to set upon mine, and they know a ship's value; it would be of immense value to them." Frequent visits of the whalers to Easter Island are mentioned by Father Ollivier (165, vol. 38, p. 46).

175 648 About 1859, exploitation of the guano on the islands off the Peruvian coast was a prosperous business, but the number of workers was insufficient. The recruiting of labor by force became a flourishing industry. As early as 1859 or 1860 some Easter Islanders were kidnapped from their island and sold as slaves, but in 1862 a real war expedition was planned against the island. The only official version of this raid, which was to have such dire consequences for the island, is the following report of the French Prosecutor in Papeete (129, pp. 543-544):

> The *Cora* left the Callao the 4th of December 1862 with the mission of recruiting workers throughout Oceania. Arrived on Easter Island, the 19th of December, she found 7 ships of the same country which were already there for the same purpose. The captains of these different vessels who had hoped to obtain workers by persuasion resolved to kidnap them. The 23 of December a gang composed of 80 of these scoundrels, among whom were 7 or 8 men of the *Cora*, went ashore with their weapons, under the command of the captain of the *Rosa-Carmen*.
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> They spread themselves out while several members of the crew attracted the natives by showing them articles which excited their greed. When about 500 natives were gathered, the chief of the pirates gave the signal, which was a revolver shot. To this signal the men answered with a volley, and about ten natives fell never to rise again. The others, terrified, tried to escape, running in all directions, some diving into the sea, others climbing the rocks; but 200 were captured and firmly tied up. A witness says that the captain of the *Cora*, Aiguirre, discovered two Indians in a cave trying to escape. As he could not convince them to come with him, he cruelly killed them. The 200 kidnapped natives were divided among the ships, which sailed some days later.

The commander of the *Topaze* (1868) says in his report (180, p. 141) that the natives who went in their canoes to barter with the Peruvian ships were captured first and then the seamen landed and kidnapped others. Several hundred were taken in that way. In 1915 there were still some old men who remembered this event. For Mrs. Routledge (194, p. 205) they illustrated by action how the raiders threw to the ground gifts which they thought most likely to attract the inhabitants and how, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for the gifts, they tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. Among those kidnapped were the king, Kaimakoi, and his son, Maurata as well as most of the learned men (*maóri*). They all died on the guano islands. The raid completely disheartened the natives. To escape from future slave raids the islanders took refuge in the

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caves, where they lived in great discomfort and constant anxiety, neglecting the cultivation of their fields.

At the request of Mgr. Jaussen, representation was made to the Peruvian government by the French minister in Lima. The British government backed France in demanding justice for the enslaved islanders. Orders were given to assemble the blackbirds at Callao so that they might be sent back to their homes. Tuberculosis, smallpox, and the change of living conditions and climate, together with unsuitable food and the hardships of guano digging on the barren islands off the Peruvian coast had killed about 900 natives in less than one year. Before the surviving 100 could be put on board ship, many of them contracted smallpox and 85 died before the end of the journey. Only 15 were landed on the island, and they carried with them the infection of smallpox, which in a very short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands (64, pp. 256-257). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) adds: "The inexperience of the natives, the lack of remedies, their imprudent practices, all increased the number of victims to such an extent that they were unable to bury them."

During these few years the native culture crumbled; the old racial order was destroyed, the population reduced to one third or one quarter of its size, and the transmission of the religious and moral traditions was suddenly interrupted. Internecine wars completed the island's ruin. Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) writes:

> The former inhabitants of the island had left rather good plantations. Those who remained had an easy living and indulged in their natural laziness, not caring to insure their future by working. But when they came to the time to share the products of the fields, quarrels arose which rapidly degenerated into dangerous wars. These fights brought waste and plundering and consequently starvation. That is why the population decreased so rapidly.

Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) alludes to this period of anarchy and misery in the following terms:

> The mortality caused by misery and famine is increasing rapidly. The plantations have been plundered and they give scarcely any sweet potatoes, which these unhappy people eat half raw. It must be added that laziness and carelessness make their situation even worse. It is necessary for some brother with the energy of Brother Eyraud to start new plantations in the lands near the sea in order that help may be given to this starving people. It would be possible then to take care of all the children, made orphans by the death of their parents or by abandonment, who lead vagrant lives.

At this time, not before, there developed the gap between present and past which makes so difficult the understanding of many aspects of the Easter Island culture. The missionaries were struck by the native's lack of interest in their traditions and lack of knowledge of their history. They were surprised also to notice how little was left of the old religion and of the ancient social organization.

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175 797 177 609 The first white man who settled on the island was Eugène Eyraud, a layman of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Picpus. He landed in Hanga-roa at the beginning of 1863, with some Easter Islanders who had been rescued from a Peruvian ship. The natives were not hostile to him, but they stole most of his goods. During the first year spent among the islanders, Eyraud was constantly exposed to larcenies, especially by one native, Torometi, who had made himself a benevolent but tyrannic protector of the missionary. The natives tried to put to practical use the knowledge of Eyraud by obliging him to build a boat. At the time when his life was becoming unbearable, a schooner with two priests arrived and took him back to Chile. Two years later, Eyraud returned to Easter Island, accompanied by Father Hyppolyte Roussel and three Mangarevans who had joined the missionaries to help in the conversion of the natives. At first the natives were openly opposed to the missionaries and hampered their work, but little by little they showed more willingness to learn prayers and hymns and in less than ten months the missionary and his assistants had gained strong influence over them. In the same year (1866) new missionaries went to the island—Father Gaspard Zumbohm and Brother Theodule Escolan.

175 177 797 Christianity made rapid progress among the Easter Islanders. The first to be converted were the children, a few adults, and then the women. The most refractory were the old chiefs. The missionaries had their headquarters at Hanga-roa but tried to spread their teachings throughout the island. Their success was almost complete when the chief of Hotu-iti received them with great ceremony. When, a few hours before his death in 1868, Brother Eyraud asked whether all the natives had been baptized, Roussel could answer that all were Christians. The last pagan had been taken into the church a few days before at the Feast of Assumption (113, pp. 90-154). Henceforth the natives were concentrated at Hanga-roa and Vaihu where they could receive a Christian education and be under the control of the missionaries.

Profound changes took place in the material situation of the natives in the course of four or five years. The missionaries spread new arts and crafts and taught the islanders to build plank houses and to make furniture. The beautiful fig trees of the village of Hanga-roa were planted by Father Roussel, and at that time were introduced the first oranges, peaches, corn, pumpkins, and beans. In 1864 Eyraud had taken with him some sheep, which the natives stole and ate. Five years later, Father Roussel returned from a visit to Chile with a shipload of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, donkeys, and even cats, for rats were abundant on that island.

177 Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first

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Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first contact between European and native cultures are the anecdotes told by Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 666): 177 152

> When the first horse was taken ashore the natives were greatly excited. "Some ran away as fast as they could, others lay on the ground. Those who were sufficiently brave to consider the strange thing a bit closer were not a little amazed when they saw the animal divide into two pieces when the rider dismounted." The islanders seem to have realized what a marvelous invention the wheel was. "When the wheelbarrow was loaded and set in motion, our islanders shouted with sheer admiration; the turning wheel was to them a living thing."
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> In 1935, officers of the *Mercator* rode bicycles on the island. Though the natives were acquainted with cars and other vehicles, the bicycles created genuine bewilderment. Many made the sign of the cross and muttered "Tatane", expressing thus the fear that the device was the work of the devil.

In 1868 the English battleship *Topaze* visited the island and took away the statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia, which stood in a house of Orongo. Palmer (171), the surgeon on the ship, made a rapid survey of the island and went as far as Rano-raraku, which he described for the first time. His scanty information about native life shows how greatly the old culture had been impaired. The most valuable data were given him by Roussel. 114 175

Captain Ignacio L. Gana, who has written a much-quoted treatise (86) about the island, visited it on the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins*, which stopped there in 1870. All of Gana's information derives from Roussel; unfortunately the Chilean officer either misunderstood or altered the original statements of the missionary so that his information is misleading.

The successful work of the missionaries was brutally interrupted in 1870 by the activities of a French adventurer, Dutroux-Bornier, who settled on the island. Dutroux-Bornier bought from the natives, for some pieces of cloth, the place called Mataveri, one of the most fertile lands of the island. Later he associated—for the exploitation of the island—with a wealthy trader of Tahiti, Mr. Brander. Very soon Dutroux-Bornier quarreled with the missionaries and started an open war against them. He was supported by the natives who had left the village of Hanga-roa to live with him in Mataveri and by the people of Anakena who were envious of those of Hanga-roa. Toro-meti, who seems to have been a chief or a man with considerable influence, joined Dutroux-Bornier. The people of Mataveri made several raids, which were reciprocated by the people of Hanga-roa. A war broke out in which the huts of both sides were burned and some men killed. Dutroux-Bornier went so far as to shell the village with gunfire. Every day Dutroux-Bornier's men plundered Hanga-roa and Vaihu which were at last entirely destroyed. Finally Bishop Tepano Jaussen ordered the missionaries to depart from a place where no more work could be done. The same year Brander sent a boat to Easter Island to recruit part of the population for his plantations in Tahiti. He had promised that this boat would carry all the natives willing to settle with the 175 721 797 167 175

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167 missionaries in Mangareva. The whole population decided to abandon their
175 home country, but about 175 were obliged to remain because the ship was too small or, more likely, because Dutroux-Bornier needed workers and induced the captain to manage so that enough islanders were left.

175 On June 24, 1871, the Russian corvette *Vitiaz* stopped for a few hours in the bay of Hanga-roa. Apparently nobody went ashore and the information about the island published by Miklukho-Maklay was obtained in Mangareva from Father Roussel where the Russian sloop stopped for four days.

In 1872, the French warship *La Flore*, under Admiral F. T. de Lapelin touched briefly at Easter Island. The head of a large statue on the Hanga-roa ahu (ahu Ana-koiroroa) was taken aboard to be presented to a French museum. Pierre Loti, who was then a midshipman on board the *La Flore*, wrote a description (146) more poetical and romantic than accurate, which has popularized in France the legend and the mystery of Easter Island.

The French warship *Seignelay* visited the island in 1877, a few days after the natives had murdered Dutroux-Bornier. At that time, there was apparently nothing left of the work of the missionaries. The French traveler, Pinart (178), who accompanied the *Seignelay*, made a rapid survey of the archaeological remains on the island, paying slight attention to the native life.

After 1877, the ships which called at Easter Island became so numerous that it is unnecessary to mention their visits unless they have added to our information about the past of the island or have effected some changes in the life of the islanders. Since 1864 white men have been permanently established on the island; through them and Tahitians much of European influence has come to the natives.

175 After the death of Dutroux-Bornier, Alexander P. Salmon, associate of
177 Brander, took his place on the island. Salmon, who was an intelligent man and half Tahitian, understood native ways. Certainly he has done more than anyone else to modify the ideas and the material life of the Easter Islanders. Economically the changes were important—more cattle were introduced, and in 1886 there were already 18,000 sheep on the island.

175 Geiseler visited the island in 1882 as commander of the German sloop
114 *Hyane*. In the few days he spent there, he made the most complete ethnological collection which has ever been obtained from the island and gathered much important data.

The American ship *Mohican* stopped at Easter Island for 11 days at the end of 1886. Paymaster Thomson and Dr. Cooke, surgeon of the ship, made a general survey of the archaeology of the island and recorded precious ethnological data. Thomson's report on Easter Island is perhaps, aside from the narratives of the first discoverers, the most important source on the past of the island, but Salmon, who was on the island at the time of the visits of Geiseler and Thomson, must be credited for most of the data and the

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documents which have been recorded. The chants and native poetry published by Thomson were transcribed and translated by Salmon, who also obtained the long list of kings which is given in the same paper. 175 114

During 1914-1915 Mrs. Routledge spent 16 months on the island and thoroughly studied its archaeology and ethnology. Unfortunately only the popular account (194) of this expedition and a monograph on Orongo (195) have been published. Routledge's survey seems to have been very detailed, and it is regrettable that her findings have not been made available.

Although France had certain rights on the island, she formally renounced them, and in 1888 the Chilean captain, Policarpo Toro, annexed the island for Chile. An unsuccessful attempt at colonization was made by Pedro Toro Hurtado, who took a group of Chileans to the island. Mr. H. Merlet of Valparaiso acquired from the representatives of Brander, Dutroux-Bornier, and Salmon the interests they held on Easter Island. The Chilean government leased the whole island with the exception of the village of Hanga-roa and the near-by lands which remained the property of the natives. The interests purchased by Merlet were sold to the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.) who still own the land. 175 648

Every year the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* goes to Easter Island. The commander of the ship has a supervisory authority and settles all the conflicts which have arisen during the year. Unfortunately the *Baquedano* stops at the island for only a few days, and the various problems of the natives can receive but superficial treatment. The training ship carries to the island old clothes given by Chilean families. These are distributed among the natives, very often in exchange for curios. 648

The Williamson and Balfour Co. is the only real link the natives have with western civilization. It gives them work and the opportunity to buy the European articles and food they need. Of the 61 square miles, 7.72 square miles belong to the natives; the rest belongs to the company. At present the natives have more land than they need and cultivate only a part of it. When a young couple marries, the government gives them 10 hectares. Perhaps in the distant future, if the population continues to increase at the present rate, the islanders will need more land. With the exception of employees of the company, the natives are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the strip of land which is reserved for them. This measure, which may seem drastic, has been taken to prevent sheep stealing, which is carried on by natives as a kind of sport. Despite barbed wire, no week passes in which they fail to organize a raid on the sheep. Between two and three thousand animals disappeared thus in 1934. 177 423 674

A few natives are permanent employees of the company. They watch the gates which give access to the company's property, form night patrols, and do routine work on the farms. At shearing time most of the young men and women on the island gather at Vai-tea, the farm in the middle of the island, 464

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

NOTES ON THE PRESENT-DAY EASTER ISLANDERS

EDWIN N. FERDON, JR.

EASTER ISLAND, or Rapa-nui, is one of the most isolated high islands in all of Polynesia, being approximately 2,100 miles west of Chile and 1,100 miles east of Pitcairn, the nearest inhabited island to the west. Discovered by Roggeveen in 1722 and visited during the 18th and 19th centuries by such well known Pacific explorers as Cook, La Pérouse, and Beechy, its extreme isolation, tree-barren slopes, and, quite possibly, its lack of good anchorage kept European contact to a minimum. Even today regular contact with the outside world is an annual affair conducted by the Chilean Navy. For years the island was virtually ignored, except for some Catholic missionaries, until Chile, in 1888, took formal possession. Easter Island has, however, never been truly occupied by Chile in the sense of maintaining a permanent settlement of continentals. In time Chile came to lease over four-fifths of the island to a British wool-growing company, and the natives were relegated to the remainder of the land around Hangaroa village. This commercial arrangement continued until 1954 when the government refused to renew the lease and turned over the running of the island, including the sheep ranch, to its Navy personnel.

As a result of the lack of interest in colonization, and the development of ranching interests, the island's foreign population has been kept small. In 1917 there were twenty-one Whites on the island, in 1922 only six, in 1934 thirteen, and today about 30.[1] Except for the church, and the founding of a regular government school in 1934,[2] there appears to have been little intentional effort to convert the natives to Chilean culture. However, owing to the legally enforced requirement that the British wool company maintain a store with such native necessities as cloth, clothing, and various tools and equipment, the islanders came to depend more and more upon the annual shipment of these Chilean products, and less and less upon their environmentally impoverished homecraft manufactures. Owing in part to this situation, acculturation has moved steadily forward on the material culture level and, because it is readily observable, has tended to mask any lags that may exist in the social and psychological patterning of Rapa-nui culture.

1 I. Dropkin, *Contribution to the Demographic Study of Easter Island* (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Occasional Papers, vol. 11, no. 12, p. 4, Honolulu, 1935).
2 *Idem*, p. 7.

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF EASTER ISLAND*

By I. Drapkin, M.D.

INTRODUCTION

This demographic study is part of a series of undertakings carried out on the spot by the Franco-Belgian Scientific Expedition, under the direction of Mr. A. Métraux, from July 1934 to January 1935. In my capacity as doctor, delegated by the Chilean Government, I took charge of all the researches concerning demography, the sanitary condition of the natives, as well as the formation of natural science collections. 121

The various data which I endeavored to bring together, systematically arranged, doubtless will contribute to the presentation of a correct idea of the actual demographic condition of the indigenous population of this island.

CENSUS

Most of the navigators who have visited Easter Island since Roggeveen have made varied and conflicting estimates of the number of the inhabitants. As these estimates had to do with impressions rather than observations founded on exact facts, one should not fail to take that into account. 161 175

The first actual census of the population of Easter Island was made at the end of 1886 by Mr. A. A. Salmon, who had arrived a short time before on the American warship *Mohican*. According to Salmon, there were then 155 natives grouped as follows: 162

Children Under 15 Years	
Male	17
Female	27
Adults	
Male	68
Female	43
Total	155

Thomson,[1] to whom we owe these valuable facts, adds that the number of the natives remained the same during many years, with a 161 175

* Translated by Margaret Titcomb, Librarian, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
[1] Thompson, William J., Te pito te henua or Easter Island: Smithsonian Inst., Nat. Mus., Rept., pp. 460-461, 1888-89.

[p. 3]
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3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

rium existing between the number of individuals of both sexes, not only in the total number, but also at most of the different stages of life (45 adolescents of the two sexes, for instance); secondly, the large number of old women compared with the old men—only 4 old men over 50, but 18 old women, one of them almost 95 years old (Paulina Viriamo).

DENSITY

Easter Island has an area of approximately 17,900 hectares. The natives have the use of only 2,000 hectares, for the other 15,900 hectares belong to the Produce Company, by virtue of a concession. If from these 2,000 hectares are deducted the government lands and such establishments as roads, the common, the church, school, cemetery, the land of the Commissioner, etc., the extent of the land actually belonging to the natives is reduced to 1,800 hectares, which results in a density of 4 inhabitants to a hectare.

The comparison between the census of Salmon in 1886 and ours in 1934 brings a realization of the rapid increase of the population, which has tripled in less than a half century. The portion of public land occupied by the natives is not one of the most favored for agriculture. If the increase in population continues according to the same rhythm the day will come when the establishment of future families will constitute a veritable problem.

PURE-BLOODED AND MIXED-BLOODED INDIVIDUALS

To distinguish between Easter Islanders of pure and mixed blood is an undertaking not only difficult but indeed impossible. During the whole course of the nineteenth century the island was visited by a great number of ships, the crews of which, on account of the liberty of Polynesian customs, were able to have sex relations with the natives. To these occasional associations there have been added all those which have occurred after the foreign occupation.

It is easy to understand that under such conditions it may be difficult to make a distinction which can claim to be precise between the direct descendants of the old inhabitants and those of mixed blood. Nevertheless, in the hope of making a more or less correct classification, I have resorted to the following method. Taking as a basis the personal information supplied by the individuals themselves, and corroborated by the testimony of the oldest natives and those most reliable in the community, I have considered as pure those who for

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

EASTER ISLAND[1]

By ALFRED MÉTRAUX
Assistant Director, Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution

(With 4 plates)

A treeless volcanic rock, scarcely 13 miles long and 7 miles wide, slowly being eaten away by the waves and lost in the great emptiness of the Pacific Ocean—2,000 miles off the coast of Chile and 1,500 miles from the nearest Polynesian archipelago—this is Easter Island, the most isolated spot ever inhabited by man. Today it supports a mere handful of natives, mostly half-castes, and many of them lepers. These 450 people, now under Chilean rule, are the only descendants of the men who created there one of the most original civilizations that have left a trace behind. Yet they have all but forgotten their past.

For two centuries, the name of the island has been almost synonymous with mystery. In the world of ethnologists it occupies a place much like that of isles of fancy in children's imaginations.

The sense of mystery which still surrounds this lonely rock was first aroused on Easter Sunday, 1722, when the Dutch Admiral Roggeveen, in command of three frigates cruising about the Pacific in search of the fabulous Davis Land, saw the dome-shaped peaks of its volcanoes jutting above the horizon. From the decks of their ships his sailors, as they drew nearer, could discern all along the cliffs of this unknown shore an army of gigantic statues, which completely overshadowed a small band of naked and noisy savages on the beach below. The visit of the Dutch discoverers did not last long, but they carried back to Europe the strange tale of a solitary, desolate island guarded by colossal stone images, far too heavy and impressive to have been carved and erected by the few primitive people they found living there.

Later in the eighteenth century, and afterward, Easter Island was visited in succession by several other great navigators: Cook, La Pérouse, Kotzebue, Beechey. They, too, saw with amazement the stone monsters, measured them, and even sketched them. To their

[1] Reprinted by permission from The Yale Review, Summer 1939, with revisions and additions by the author. The illustrations did not appear in The Yale Review.

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

minds also, the contrast between the monuments, indicative of a flourishing and skillful population, and the desolation they found about them was a peculiar enigma. They spoke of cataclysms, of volcanic eruptions, that might have changed the course of the island's history, but these were pure guesses based on superficial observation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a different group of visitors appeared. These were the whalers, most of them enterprising New Englanders in pursuit of business and adventure in the South Seas. A few echoes of their experiences come to us in indirect ways. Thus we know that the captain of one of these ships kidnapped several men who afterward escaped and tried to swim back to their island although they were 3 days out. It is not surprising that relations between the whalers and the natives were far from cordial. Too often the ships' officers resorted to impressing the islanders into their service. Such incidents explain the hostility shown to some European navigators between 1820 and 1830 when they attempted to land. But these brief visits of Yankee sailors were not without benefit to the study of Easter Island. Thanks to their collecting instinct, numerous precious specimens of its early art have been well preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge and the Peabody Museum at Salem. In Cambridge, besides various wood and stone carvings, there are two images brought from the island, made of bark stuffed with bulrushes, which represent a branch of its artistic tradition otherwise entirely unknown. They are covered with painted designs that reproduce, with fine and precise workmanship, the elaborate patterns used in tattooing up to a hundred years ago. In this respect the old Easter Islanders rivaled the achievements of the Marquesans.

In 1859 a frightful disaster befell the islanders when Peruvian blackbirders attacked the island and kidnapped the king, a large number of the nobles and priests, and many hundred commoners, all of whom were carried off to the guano islands of Peru to work as slaves. Most of the people died within a short time. When at last the few survivors were repatriated by a French ship, they spread among the remaining islanders the smallpox and tuberculosis contracted in Peru. Thus within a few years most of the native population and with them the vital links with the past were wantonly destroyed.

The mystery of Easter Island became still deeper when, in 1864, the first Christian missionaries (members of the French Order of the Sacred Heart) arrived and tried to obtain from the natives details about the origin of the statues, and the methods that had been used to transport them—since many of them had obviously been moved from the place where the stone was quarried. Their answers to questions of this kind were unilluminating and showed that they had only a vague tradition of what had happened before their time. Their ignorance, combined with the state of primitive poverty into which they

4: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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had fallen, again emphasized their enigmatic relation to the lost civilization, of which the statues and great stone mausoleums as well as other finely wrought remains of the past were mute evidence.

Then scientists began to study Easter Island. At what time and by what manner of men, they asked, were these images made, with their colossal bulk, their empty eyes and scornful expressions? Was the island the remnant of a sunken continent? Had it been inhabited by a powerful earlier race which had died out, or been destroyed and displaced by more warlike conquerors? Had eruptions of the volcanoes exterminated the skilled craftsmen, the sculptors, and the architects, leaving only a small group of people too discouraged and weak to continue the work of their forefathers? These are among the questions that still puzzle students.

The statues symbolize the mystery of the island and have made it famous. Yet their paradoxical presence on this speck of land in the midst of the Pacific is perhaps less difficult to understand than are the wooden tablets covered with small incised designs that were collected from the natives in the second half of the last century. The tablets raised the fascinating question whether their makers used on them a kind of hieroglyphic script which might some day be deciphered and would unveil the secret of its past. But all attempts to decipher them, with the help of intelligent natives, failed.

A few years ago the study of the tablets took an unexpected turn. A Hungarian linguist, Guillaume de Hevesy, published a long list of Easter Island hieroglyphs which, it was claimed, presented very striking analogies with the symbols of a newly discovered script found in the ruins of a civilization, 5,000 years old, in the Indus Valley at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. There, coetaneous with the Sumerian civilization, flourished large and opulent cities inhabited by people whose name and affiliations are totally unknown to us. They were wiped out probably at the time of the Aryan, and their existence remained unsuspected until the great excavations of Sir John Marshall. The Mohenjo-daro people have left a great many inscriptions on seals which have so far resisted any attempt at decipherment. If it could be shown that the two scripts were related, new light might be thrown on the obscure past of the whole Pacific area.

The problem thus posed was of such significance for an understanding of the early history of man that the French Government in association with the Belgian Government decided to organize an expedition to Easter Island to try to read its riddle. The leader of the expedition was a French archeologist, Charles Watelin, who, unfortunately, died in Tierra del Fuego. I was then asked to carry on the research, in association with the Belgian archeologist, Dr. Henry Lavachery.

●175

[For information on the history of the discovery of the island by Europeans consult category 116. Since the entire source is a historical document it has not been marked separately for recorded history.]

6: Anonymous

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● 175

[For information on the history of the discovery of the island by Europeans consult category 116. Since the entire source is a historical document it has not been marked separately for the recorded history category.]

7: Anonymous

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175

[For information on recorded history see category 116. Since the entire source is a historical document it has not been marked separately for this category.]

8: Behrens

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[For information on the history of the discovery of the island by Europeans see category 116. Since the entire source is a historical document it has not been marked separately for this category.]

9: Forster
175

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[For material on recorded history see category 116.]

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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1774. MARCH. We went on board at noon, where we dined on ſome fowls and potatoes, which we found delicious after the fatigues of the morning. We obſerved a few natives on board, who had ventured to ſwim off, though the ſhip lay about three quarters of a mile from the ſhore. They expreſſed the moſt unbounded admiration at every thing they ſaw, and every one of them meaſured the whole length of the veſſel from head to ſtern, with his extended arms; ſuch a great quantity of timber of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, being altogether incomprehenſible to people whoſe canoes were patched of many ſmall bits of wood. Among them was one woman, who had arrived on board in the ſame manner, and carried on a particular traffic of her own. She viſited ſeveral of the inferior officers, and then addreſſed herſelf to the ſailors, emulating the famous exploits of Meſſalina *. A few Engliſh rags, and ſome pieces of Taheitee cloth, were the ſpoils which ſhe carried away with her, being fetched off by a man in the patched canoe, which was perhaps the only one in the iſland. Another of her country-women had viſited our ſhip the day before, and been equally unbounded in her revels. It remained a doubt with us, whether we ſhould moſt admire their ſucceſs among a ſickly crew, exhauſted by the long continuance of a noxious diet, or their own ſpirit and inſatiate temper.

* See Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. x. c. 63. Tacit. Annal. lib. xi. Juvenal. Sat. vi. 129.
——laſſâta viris, nec ſatiata recedit.

In

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of Taheitee. The monarchical government likewiſe ſtrengthens the affinity between the Eaſter Iſlanders and the tropical tribes, its prerogatives being only varied according to the different degrees of fertility of the iſlands, and the opulence or luxury of the people. Eaſter Iſland, or, as the natives call it, WAIHU, is ſo very barren, that the whole number of plants growing upon it does not exceed twenty ſpecies, of which far the greater part is cultivated*; though the ſpace which the plantations occupy is inconſiderable, compared with that which lies waſte. The ſoil is altogether ſtoney, and parched by the ſun, and water is ſo ſcarce, that the inhabitants drink it out of wells which have a ſtrong admixture of brine; nay, ſome of our people really ſaw them drink of the ſea-water when they were thirſty. Their habit of body muſt, in ſome meaſure, be influenced by theſe circumſtances; they are meagre, and their muſcles hard and rigid; they live very frugally, and, in general, go almoſt wholly naked, only covering the head, which is the moſt ſenſible of heat, with feathered caps, and puncturing or daubing the reſt with colours. Their ideas of decency are, of courſe, very different from thoſe of nations who are accuſtomed to clothing. They cut ſhort their hair and beards

* The Spaniards mention white calabaſhes, *(pepiones,)* among the vegetable productions of this iſland; but we did not ſee any.—See Mr. Dalrymple's judicious letter to Dr. Hawkeſworth.

from

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

ance, particularly when the slanting rays of the rising or setting sun shine upon them, and at that time especially, when they stand so prominently forth, would readily suggest the human navel, from which it may be inferred that portion of the name of the island might be derived.

Regarding the other word, *henua*, the *uterus;* can it be that they meant to designate by this term the great volcano Rana Roraka, in whose womb was created, and from whose vitals was born that host of monolithic images which once reared their colossal forms aloft, giant genii guarding these rock-bound shores, and which to-day, prone and mutilated as they are, fill the mind of the voyager with wonder, awe, and admiration?

Hiti te eiranga, the name said to have been given to the island by the English is, perhaps, a corruption of that above-mentioned, as is certainly also the name *Te Pito fenua*, wrongly stated as signifying "the land in the middle of the sea." The name *Rapa Nui*, signifying Great Rapa, is modern, having been given to the island by the Tahitians twenty years since, to distinguish it from *Rapa iti*, Little Rapa, otherwise called Oparo, an island lying 1,000 miles to the westward, in the direction of the Society Group, which latter is 2,500 miles distant. The name Easter was given the island by Roggeween, who discovered it on Easter Sunday, 1721. It has also been called by various names, such as Teapy and Waihu.

It has often been subject of remark that this propensity of giving new, modern, European names to lands and islands, not only when originally discovered, but often when merely revisited, may be considered as not only in questionable taste, but as leading to endless confusion. The charts and Sailing Directions are replete with instances of that sort, cases occurring when perhaps half a dozen modern and strangely appearing names, each by a different navigator, are applied to one small island or group of islands. The spelling of the native names is also, in many instances, wide of the mark. These strictures may be said to apply with special force to the island under consideration, and, therefore, in these reports and on the corrected chart its ancient name, as well as the native names of its mountains, bays, and headlands, have been adhered to as closely as practicable, while at the same time the greatest care has been exercised in spelling them phonetically as received from the natives.

Since its discovery the island has been visited at successive times by Cook and La Perouse; by the H. M. S. *Blossom* in 1825, and *Topaze* in 1868; by the Chilean gunboat *O'Higgins* in 1870 and 1875; by the H. M. S. *Sappho* in 1882, and by the German gunboat *Hyaene* in the same year.

The U. S. S. *Mohican* arrived at the island December 18 and sailed December 31, 1886.

The distance to the nearest inhabited island to the westward, Pit-

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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161 estimated at 20,000, although other calculations give much smaller
174 figures. I am of the opinion that in the days of the image and platform builders the population might have been even larger.

About the year 1863 the Peruvians carried off from the island in
648 15 vessels, as it is alleged, 5,000 of the inhabitants as agricultural
167 laborers in Peru and to work the guano deposits of the Chincha Islands. By reason of the odium attached to this proceeding, the
● 175 Peruvian Government, some time afterwards, was induced to return those who had not succumbed to their treatment and altered conditions of life. Smallpox broke out among these on the return voyage. It is stated that all except two died, and the disease, spreading among the people ashore, ravaged the island, many deaths resulting. Of those carried off by the Peruvians one old man, Pakomeo, who was taken to the Chinchas, and whom we saw, still survives, the last of the unfortunates.

266 Down to the year 1861 cannibalism is said to have been practiced
797 by the natives. In that year a Jesuit mission was established on the
161 island, at which time the population numbered about 1,500. Through the influence and teachings of the missionaries an almost radical change was wrought in the manners, habits, and character of the people, and, to a certain extent at least, they adopted the customs of civilized life.

164 When H. M. S. *Topaze* visited the island in 1868 there were but
167 about 900 natives left, of whom less than 300 were females, with the numbers still rapidly declining, the proportion of deaths to births being given as 3 to 1. About the year 1875 some 500 were removed to Tahiti under contract to work on the sugar plantations of that island.

In the year 1878 the missionaries, who had done admirable work among them, departed from the island, taking with them about 300 of the people, who settled Gambier Archipelago.

When H. M. S. *Sappho* touched at the island in 1882 it was reported that but 150 of the inhabitants were left.

161 On the occasion of the *Mohican's* visit I received from Mr. Salmon,
162 who had a complete census, with the names of every man, woman, and child on the island, the following summary:

Natives	155
Foreigners	11
Total number of inhabitants	166
Native men	68
Native women	43
Boys under 15 years of age	17
Girls under 15 years of age	27
Total number of natives	155
Tahitians	6
English	2
Americans	2
Frenchmen	1
Total number of foreigners	11

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 174 212 sided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient traditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) engraved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo* were the object of organized teaching.

174 764 769 The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust. The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits 915 of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs, where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have tatoo marks which were still used during the historical period. Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

174 776 The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was Makó Makó. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mythologies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing. 171 It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resembled in almost every detail. Makó Makó is the creator of birds. One of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of birds, of a man [10] who probably represents the god, and who each spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh 266 was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies at puberty.

195 199 The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Europeans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally different from their own. From that time onward they lost without any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them, ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed, not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

[10] Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid by the bird *Manutara* (hrcast) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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EASTER ISLAND in the South-East Pacific, remained in its primitive state, save in so far as it was affected by the visits of passing ships, till the year 1863. At that date a large number of its most distinguished inhabitants were carried away by Peruvian slave raiders or died from a subsequent epidemic of small-pox; the following year the first Christian missionary settled on the island; he was rapidly followed by a series of European exploiters and the old order passed. The information which follows was obtained from the few surviving natives who can remember their life in its earlier condition prior to the above events. It is never easy to procure from uneducated persons a straightforward and accurate statement, even when the events in question are recent and well within their knowledge, it is even harder when some of the facts are forgotten or only vaguely remembered, so that a speaker glides almost unconsciously from what is known to what is merely conjectured; the difficulty of research was in this case further augmented through its being begun with preconceived ideas, obtained from the brief allusions of earlier writers, which subsequently proved to be erroneous. The work was necessarily a matter of time; it was not, for instance, till the Expedition had been a year on the island that the story transpired of the bird-man's residence on Rano Raraku, though once heard it was found to be well known. The whole material available has not yet been examined and some changes may be necessary; what is claimed is that the evidence was very carefully obtained and weighed and that the story as given is believed to be substantially correct; but experience in field work here and elsewhere has induced a firm conviction that accuracy in anthropological work is never more than a comparative term. The account will be given first in general terms, and deviations or exceptions subsequently noted. With regard to the evidence at our disposal, information was obtained from

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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EASTER ISLAND

Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, M.A.

Read at the Meeting of the Society, 20 November 1916. Map following p. 400.

EASTER ISLAND lies in the South-East Pacific some 2000 miles from the coast of South America, and it stands solitary and alone. Its first European discoverer was the Dutch Admiral Roggeveen, who sighted it on Easter Day 1722 and named it in commemoration of the festival. It was subsequently visited in succession, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, by a Spanish expedition under Gonzalez, by Cook, and by La Perouse. All these navigators commented on the enormous stone statues which they found on the island, surmounted by large crowns or hats. The Spaniards viewing them from the sea mistook them for big shrubs symmetrically set up; and when they found their real nature marvelled how natives could erect such figures on the small bases whereon they stood and could put their crowns in place. The Dutchmen solved the problem to their own satisfaction by stating that the images were not made of stone but of a compound of clay and flint, and it is interesting to notice that some of Cook's officers inclined to the same opinion. From that day to this the statues of Easter Island have remained the mystery of the Pacific, and the wonder of the place has been increased by the later discovery that the island at one time possessed wooden tablets carved with hieroglyphics of which no satisfactory translation has been forthcoming.

The island is nearly as remote from the outside world to-day as it was in the time of Roggeveen. It is far removed from all trade routes, and is visited in normal times about once a year only by a small schooner from South America. Passing men-of-war have from time to time described the island and its remains, but their sojourn has necessarily been short, the longest visit being that of the United States ship *Mohican* in 1886, which remained for thirteen days. Its problems have therefore remained unsolved. What were these statues? Whom do they represent? Were they made by the ancestors of the present inhabitants or by an earlier people? Whence came the race who reached this remote spot; did they arrive from the mainland to the eastward, or did they sail against the prevailing wind from the distant islands to the west? It has even been conjectured that Easter Island is all that remains of a sunken continent. Some six

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

yards for a distance of some six miles, and must have produced an imposing effect. We never found a statue of which we could definitely say that it was in process of removal, and we have no light to throw on the means employed, beyond the fact that graded roads have been made.

We trust that the result of our archæological work will be to give a reasonably full and complete survey of the remains as they at present exist on Easter Island. Another channel was open to us, in studying the history of the island, namely, Ethnological Research. No hope had been held out to us before leaving England that anything of value could be obtained from the existing natives. It came therefore as a surprise to find that there was still much of interest to be learned from the old inhabitants. Ten years ago more could have been learnt; ten years hence practically nothing will remain.

It must be borne in mind that in dealing with the history of Easter Island we have three periods to consider. Firstly prehistoric times whose story it is desired to decipher; secondly a period of one hundred and fifty years dating from the first discovery of the island, during which time ships touched at intervals and have left a certain amount of record of what they found; and thirdly the present period of European occupation. Between the two last periods there is a great break. In 1863 certain slave raiders from Peru carried off half the population, including most of the principal men. In 1864 Roman Catholic missionaries landed, and speedily converted the remaining natives to Christianity. Old customs died out; old tradition was despised. Only those, therefore, who could remember native life prior to 1863 or 1864 could give any assistance. There were on our landing some twelve old people who came into this category; but even so the difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge were very great. It would not, as will readily be understood, be an easy matter to reconstruct English life of fifty years ago merely from the accounts of old people. The Polynesians are in addition notoriously inexact in their statements. They frequently do not themselves know when they are speaking the truth and when they are relying on imagination. Each witness had therefore to be cross-examined carefully but without any doubt being thrown on his story, which would immediately have given offence. Then some weeks later he was discreetly re-examined, when he had forgotten his previous evidence, and his account compared with those of others. The statements which follow have been thus very carefully verified; but there is much in addition on which information was sought but on which it is impossible to speak with certainty or even to speak at all.

The first question which naturally arises is with regard to Tradition, "Do the present inhabitants know anything of the origin of the great works?" To this, speaking generally, the answer is in the negative. They take the statues for granted, and they are of no particular interest to them. One boy inquired with the pity akin to contempt, "Have you